765 is often made and is drunk at the burial place
[273] during the ceremony. Pittier[118] records the
782 [Text continues TOP of P. 35(B)--Analyst]
[825]

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 **The Clans.** The Bribri and the Cabécares are
[616] divided into matrilineal clans which developed from moieties. Although a number of clans have disappeared through war and sickness, those which remain strictly follow the ancient
582 rules. This emphasizes the non-marriageable
614 position of all the mother's relatives. A vestige of cross-cousin marriage exists but is not compulsory. One can marry the mother's brother's child but never the offspring of the maternal aunt. On the father's side, beyond the father's sister and the first cousins, one can marry whom one wants. The importance of
614 clan relationship is easily understood when
673 one takes into consideration the moral code of these peoples. According to this there are three great sins which are placed in the following order:

1) To have sexual relations with own clan.
[825] 2) To allow an animal to suffer when wounded in-
224 stead of killing it rapidly.
[177] 3) To kill a man. (This may be the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and the government of Costa Rica.)

582 The need to adhere to clan regulations in
614 regard to marriage is illustrated by the formation of new clans as a result of marriage outside of the tribe proper. This has become more
[164] important because in the past 50 years many clans have died out due to measles and yellow fever epidemics, and the always present amoeba. In Salitre, for example, a new group has been formed which is known as *terú*. This started when a Bribri man belonging to the *uminak* clan married a Térraba woman. The Cabécares are less inclined to form new divi-
[166] sions. Those who have inter-married with the Bribri do not remain in Cabécar territory (*see* list of Bribri clans).

614 On the Caribbean side, clans are associated with given geographical sections (*see* Villages;
[423] Land Tenure). The land is owned by the
[756] complete group and the medicine man in

[118] Pittier, 1938, p. 26.
[119] Gabb, 1875, pp. 507–509.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962



SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
Cabecar

765 sacrificing of a military macaw (*Ara militaris*)
782 over the grave.
825

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 certain clans still controls and keeps ritual
[423] property. This consists of drums or gold pre-
756 Columbian figures (*see* Myths: *Clan Protec-*
422 *tors*). Formerly the *usegLa* administered jus-
tice within the clan. Now the medicine man
[627] sometimes assumes this role although the most
usual method is for the family of the culprit
[692] to take matters into their own hands. In ex-
treme cases such as a sexual offense within the
[681] clan or murder, poison is given or the offender
is buried alive. On the Pacific slope, land
[184] tenure by individual clans disappears. Three
[423] or two groups, as the case may be, settle in
a given section such as Cabagra or China
Kichá, and own land as a single unit.

These people know, however, of their Talamancan counterparts and keep as a goal
[484] the idea of visiting, at least to know personally,
[184] the home site of their clan on the Caribbean
[422] watershed. Clan-owned ritual property does
not appear on the Pacific. The family unit
692 on this side has been known to administer
justice, but this task is usually left to the Costa Rican civil authorities in the nearest center.

614 Gabb does not seem to have considered the
[114] clans, rather he makes a distinction in social
classes,[116] indicating the Cabécar *usegLa*, or
565 high priest, as the spiritual head of both Bribri
[793] and Cabécar, while the temporal ruler was
Bribri. This lay head was known as the "King"
[643] and tradition holds that there were two clans
of "Kings." These were not inter-marriageable. Only one clan of these remains today (*see* Non-Documental History of Talamanca). The
793 Indians recount that the most powerful indi-
692 vidual was the *usegLa* who spoke both Bribri and Cabécar. It is said that complaints were passed from the "King" to him for decisive action. On such occasions, he retired to a secret and sacred cave which had much *pita* (*see* Fibers) at the entrance. There he had sacred jaguars known as "dogs" and snakes at his command. The last *usegLa* is supposed to
[164] have died from smallpox during the first half of the 20th century. The clan of the *usegLa*
614 still exists, however, in the upper Coen, Tala-
177

776 sky, *kakəLjtə*, and traveled from Talamanca to Boruca naming as he went all the peaks, rivers, and creeks. He passed through Cabécar also on this journey. His name signifies *eternity* because "he has always existed and has never ceased to exist." During this period, the Térrabas were monkeys. Later they were changed to people.

[487] *bukLbru* (Cabécar and Bribri). The trail that leads from Talamanca to Ujarrás crosses a peak at an altitude of 2150 meters, just beyond the division of waters on the Pacific slope. Here, those Indians who make the journey for the first time must leave a small [484] fragment of their clothing on a staff. As they [782] do this they say, "We pay equally not to become ill and not to suffer." Those going from [487] Ujarrás to Talamanca, must do the same at *surstsapku* at an altitude of 1480 meters. This is because *bukLbru* is the lord of the peak and must be appeased so that he will protect the newcomers. Those who have made the trip before, and non-Indians, do not have to do this because "the heat of the initiated will protect them."

*wrigaki* is an old man who lives in a great pool. He is the guardian of fish.

There are many more lesser spirits. Some of these appear in the myths which follow.

**Theological Myths.** The number before the title corresponds to the same myth given in the Linguistic section of this book.[1]

### (1) The Birth of *sibu*[162] (Version 1)

### (*Cabécar*)

2 539 *sibu* is like air. He has no father. In order [776] to come to this world he entered a woman in the form of air. God himself, however, went underground through the four worlds[163] and appeared when the pregnant woman went to the brook. There he was found in the form of a newly born babe. The woman joyously gathered him up and carried him to her house.

The woman had some brothers who were powerful medicine men. They asked her whether the child was hers or whether he was God. The woman answered, "He is my child."

[772] [163] The four underground worlds of the Cabécares are: for sickness; for the owner of animals; for dead Indians; for evil spirits.

[1 See category 116, ¶¶ 75-95 - Analyst.]

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
SA19 Talamanca SA19
[P.62(B)] Cabecar

778 on the savanna but scattered rocks. One large
103 rock, however, has an imprint or imperfection
[133] caused by nature which with the help of the imagination one might call a jaguar's paw. From this comes the name *Mano del Tigre*. The Cabécar Indians as well as the Bribri, both Talamancan tribes, hold this rock sacred, and
●[782] yearly the medicine men of these two groups
[756] leave offerings of food beside it. The respect for this spot must be very ancient as the following legend suggests.

*539 A long time ago when the sun had not yet appeared, all the stones were as soft as mud. It was then that *ɜəwík*,[192] the monkeys, and the wild pigs lived together and decided to make an excursion with the object of picking out a place to live before the sun might appear. A jaguar also joined the group.

Thus it was that they left Talamanca and crossed the mountain range to the Pacific. *ɜəwík*, who was of normal height, died on the way.[193]

The jaguar, when he saw dawn coming, left his paw print on a rock. This is the reason for the boulder with a paw mark in the savanna by Térraba known as *Mano del Tigre*.

Some people, who lived near, saw many monkeys approaching and pursued them. When they reached them, however, they discovered that they had changed from monkeys to people. They had become the Térrabas. So the hunters left them alone and pursued the wild pigs until they arrived at a place called Boruca. Here they found that the wild pigs were people. This is how Térraba and Boruca were populated. The jaguar hid himself in the Cordillera Bruqueña where he is today.

### (14) The Jaguar Hunt[194]

In former times our Indian race (tribe) did not fear anything. They went on hunts which lasted for many days. During one of these ventures, some of our people came across a large house (*palenque*) full of inhabitants. The hunters were caught and were not allowed to leave.

[192] A mythical man.

[778] [193] A great pile of stones in Ujarrás is supposed to mark his grave.

[194] *See* Linguistic Texts: *kɬɜuLu nawɬ* (hunt jaguar).